grievances of the farmer and explaining and facilitating the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ba'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he is expected to maintain a divankhane (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowanduz itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ba'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rowanduz was the seat (a nang) of a nahiyeh under the distant sealiq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Rytil and, as

today, a number of troops were garrisoned there. With respect to Erbil, the administrative equality has been changed, although a fifth nahiya added to the Ottoman four. It cannot be said that the Ottoman administration with its officers, judges, tax-collectors, and its zaptieh was too different in outward form from that of today. The knowledge of bureaucratic government is nothing new to the district. In contrast to the present administration, however, the Turks were extremely venal, but it cannot be legitimately said, as it is with respect to other former Ottoman holdings, that they were violent. While there were often skirmishes between segments of the population and the Ottoman gendarmes and troops, there is no particular recollection of Turkish "atrocities" in the area, for in the nineteenth century the Kurds, at home in their mountains, were the military equals of their opponents. The opening of new roads and the adoption of modern arms has changed much of this, and the Kurd has learned to respect automatic weapons, artillery, and aircraft. In a number of regards, such as education and public health, it can be seen that the new government enters much more completely into the interests of the people, and, according to popular opinion, has subverted many functions formerly reserved to the chieftains alone. In summary, it appears that the administration today is at once more rigorous and more enlightened than that of Ottoman times.

In conclusion certain observations on the present administration may be reinforced. It can be observed how

little the people, aside from a personage like the mukhtar, 634 ●
are able to participate in their own government. Rowanduz, 649
as the physical center of this government, exerts a power-
ful influence as well as a formal control not only over the
town people but over the district as a whole. Such an
administration, while in no sense new or unique, has ex-
tended the range of its activities into a great part of the
people's life, and it is impossible to deny its relevance
as the most powerful determinant in the change of local
culture. Lastly, a new "elite" of civil officials and [647]
officers, alien to the area, make up its directing personnel [554]
and add a new element, reinforced by prestige and power,
to the older form of society.